565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [647] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never usé them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
● 714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhaï allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264 only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

411 The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

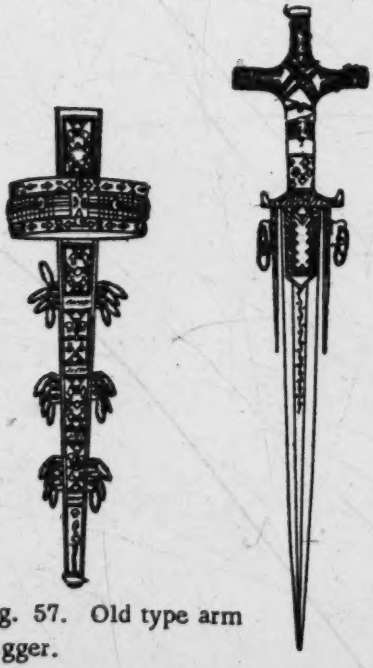


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531] shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two. The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow. We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

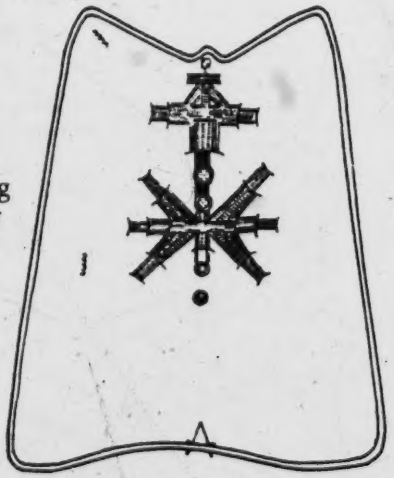


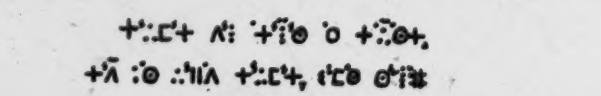
Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Aménokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.